The G. O. P. Takes the Road Back—*Editorial*

THE Nation

February 14, 1953

Freud and the Hucksters

Seducing the Social Scientists

BY RALPH GOODMAN

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Jews in Russia

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

*

The Morse Code

What the Oregon Senator Is Fighting For

BY BRUCE CATTON

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As you know, the biggest stories of 1953 will be datelined *Washington* as people everywhere await with mingled anxiety and hope the new Administration's handling of the great problems of our time.

To relay this drama to *Nation* readers, we have engaged Bruce Catton, brilliant journalist and author, most recently Assistant Director of Information of the Department of the Interior under Oscar Chapman and author of "War Lords of Washington," to write a series on the changing Washington scene.

Along with this expansion of Washington coverage, you will see next week a complete redesigning of *The Nation's* format which will bring you the many *Nation* features in more interesting and readable form. Also, Harold Clurman, long connected with the American theater both as director and critic, has joined our staff as drama critic.

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THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

Persuasive Mr. Dulles

Dispatches from London and the Continent suggest that Messrs. Dulles and Stassen left behind them a more acquiescent collection of allies than had greeted them on their arrival. The resentment and alarm described in this issue by Alexander Werth and Andrew Roth seem to have subsided into a mood of wait and see. Evidently British and French officials were partly reassured by Mr. Dulles's indication—there was no promise—that the new Formosa policy would not mean enlarging the Korean war. They were pleased by his invitation to visit Washington next month. In Germany the going was even easier, as Carolus foresaw. The visit of the American emissaries, and Mr. Eisenhower's letter to Dr. Adenauer inviting him also to come to Washington, have strengthened the Chancellor's hand and proportionately weakened the Social Democratic opposition.

In spite of underlying doubts and tensions, official Europe seems to be responding with a mild burst of energy to the American demand for speed in ratifying the defense agreements and getting ahead with the European army. Britain has promised prompt action on a detailed plan for closer cooperation with the Continental defense system, and the French are accelerating their effort to settle the protocols—meaning modification and reservations—of the defense treaty so that ratification and German rearmament can be pushed without delay. Belgium and Holland are gearing their plans to those of their larger neighbors but are not noticeably holding back.

The Razor's Edge

The long-range effort of American pressure will be tested by later events. Just as the atmosphere changed for the better during ten days of relatively tactful negotiation, so it could change for the worse equally fast if Washington's acts undermined the assurances given by Mr. Dulles.

By itself the Formosa decision is so meaningless that no one seriously believes it to be anything but a first step in a policy still cautiously described as one of taking the "initiative" or forcing the Communists "off balance." What will the second step be?—blockade of the China coast, as urged by Senators Knowland and Taft and Representative Short on the say-so of Admiral Radford? Will the Seventh Fleet aid and protect Nationalist forays against the mainland? Will the fleet or air force take counter-action if the Chinese Communists attack Formosa, which we are pledged to defend? And if a blockade is established, will the fleet attack British ships engaged in protecting British merchantmen en route to Chinese ports? Only a handful of questions such as these are enough to show how quickly and easily a new crisis could blow up.

The success of the Administration's effort to hasten into being an armed, unified Europe depends as much on Europe's belief that America wants to avoid war as on the persuasion exercised by diplomatic junkets and our towering financial strength. Nothing could be better designed to shatter the fragile confidence built up by last week's talks than the appearance of an American policy that threatened to extend the Korean war to the Chinese mainland.

Adenauer Takes Precautions

Now only a few months off, the West German general elections are a source of great worry in both Bonn and other Western capitals. The creation of the European army, as well as the future of the Atlantic coalition, depends on its outcome. Above all Adenauer's political life is in the balance. Thus it is not surprising that the German Chancellor is taking his precautions; he wants an election without surprises.

France and Italy have indicated the solution through their recent electoral "reforms" which all but guarantee the return of a majority for the government parties. The new electoral law just submitted by Adenauer's Minister of the Interior, though received with stormy protests by the opposition, is expected to work the same miracle. The future Bundestag will have 484 members instead of the present 402. Of this number half will be elected by direct vote, but according to a provision which gives each citizen two votes of different values. The first indicates which candidate he prefers; the second transfers his backing to another candidate in case his first choice fails to win a majority.

This method applies to half of the Bundestag. The other half will be elected according to the proportional system. In the opinion of its critics, both parts of the

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law open the way to all sorts of tricks and combinations calculated to give the parties in power the number of extra seats needed to insure continuance of the government. Aside from its extreme complexity, a careful study of the law has convinced the opposition, and especially the Social Democrats, who had every reason to expect a victory in the coming elections, that its main effect will be to keep Adenauer in office.

Trade in the Briar Patch

The President's foreign-trade policy, as outlined in his state of the Union message, differs little from that of the Truman Administration. But his phrasing was rather unfortunate. He implied that action by the United States to encourage imports should depend on steps by foreign nations to create "broader markets and more dependable currencies." Is not this putting the cart before the horse? As Graham Tower, governor of the Bank of Canada, has just forcefully pointed out, the cause of freer world trade needs American example even more than American precept.

Nevertheless, Mr. Eisenhower deserves credit for urging renewal of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act. This is not an easy pill for some of his followers to swallow, even though he attempted to make it more palatable by references to "legitimate safeguarding of domestic industries" and promises that earnest consultations with interested parties will precede executive recommendations.

The key word is "legitimate," and it is a slippery one. American briar-pipe manufacturers, for instance, think they have a legitimate claim to greater protection even though present duties on such pipes range up to 75 per cent. The Tariff Commission agrees with them, and before February 28 the President must decide whether to indorse or reject its recommendation of a higher duty. This case provides an important test of the "escape clause" added by Congress to the Trade Agreements Act. If Mr. Eisenhower decides to discourage imports of European pipes in the interest of what appears to be a relatively inefficient industry, many European exporters will decide not to risk the large investment entailed in building American markets for their products, and plans for "trade not aid" will suffer a serious setback.

Henderson in Cairo

Loy Henderson, the new American ambassador to Egypt, comes to this key post with a record of partisanship and failure. As the State Department's Middle Eastern expert he consistently opposed Zionist aspirations in the interest of what he regarded as necessary appeasement of the Arabs. He is held responsible for sabotaging the recommendations of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry which in 1946 would have admitted to

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Palestine 100,000 Jewish survivors of the Hitler extermination program.

The late James T. Forrestal, in his "Diary," records a conversation held on January 29, 1948, in which he and Henderson concurred in regarding the United Nations partition resolution of November 29, 1947, as merely a recommendation, unworkable and therefore subject to reexamination. These views were responsible for the gyrations in United States policy until President Truman ended them by recognizing Israel and "kicking Loy Henderson upstairs." He has since served in India and Iran, in neither place with notable success.

The Egyptian post is extremely important and calls for a creative concept of the genuine revolutionary trend in the Middle East, as in Asia, against poverty and feudalism. It requires a realization that stability in the area is essential both to the countries themselves and to the Western alliance. It requires also an understanding of the role Israel is playing as a democratic outpost in the Middle East.

Nothing in Mr. Henderson's record offers any assurance that he can meet these requirements. Does his appointment mean a return to the policy of Arab appeasement with the single goal of a Middle Eastern defense pact?

Charlie Ervin

Charles W. Ervin, who died last week at the age of eighty-seven, was one of the great personalities of the American labor movement. Old-time Socialist, union organizer, editor of the New York *Call* in the days of the Socialist Party's vigor, he also served as *The Nation's* circulation manager in the early twenties.

Charlie Ervin was the very embodiment of independent American radicalism. He could no more be imagined cringing before a witch-hunting demagogue than taking orders from an agitprop. His feeling for our nation's history, and particularly his passionate admiration for Thomas Jefferson, stood between him and all the irrational timidities and rancors of the period he lived to deplore. As associate editor of the *Advance,* organ of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, and the union's adviser on public relations, he maintained to the last his militant spirit, unfailing common sense, and genial, sardonic humor.

The Road Back

THE domestic part of President Eisenhower's State of the Union message—we intend to discuss his projected foreign policy in a later issue—deserves, on one score at least, the nearly unanimous praise which it has received from our one-party press: it is certainly "coherent." The essentially harsh outlines of the program were partly concealed by mildness of language and absence of specific detail, but the meaning will soon become apparent as Congress settles down to work. For what the President hopes to achieve, as the *Wall Street Journal* points out, is nothing less than the reversal of a generation's philosophy of government. What he proposes, in short, is "a sharp, clean break with the domestic course of the Roosevelt and Truman administrations."

The sharpness of his dissent from the concept of a welfare state was most clearly apparent in the President's studied advocacy of a laissez-faire definition of government's responsibilities for the general welfare. In industrial relations government is not to intervene except, perhaps, to encourage mediation and arbitration. There is to be "a strong federal program in the field of resource development," but the major projects should be undertaken to assist in leveling off "peaks and valleys in our economic life"—that is, as public works and not as a means of bringing about a better regional balance of productive forces or for the purpose of expanding the economy. "Soundly conceived projects" which have already been initiated will be carried out, but new projects should be merely planned, on paper, for the future. States and localities are to be admitted to a "partnership" with the federal government in the operation and administration of resource-development projects, including river-valley authorities, which in the past has always meant that the utilities have been able to run the show pretty much as they pleased.

In the field of human relations laissez faire is to be restored as the sole measure of government's responsibilities. The President promises to use "whatever authority exists" in his office to end segregation in the District of Columbia and in the federal government, including the armed services; otherwise the safeguarding of civil rights is to be left to "the power of fact, fully publicized; of persuasion, honestly pressed; and of conscience, justly aroused." But this promise is narrowly limited in effect, since he actually has little power in the District of Columbia except the power of example, while the promise to end segregation in agencies subject to federal control merely affirms the principle that government itself should not discriminate.

The return of the laissez-faire yardstick is equally clear in what the President had to say about economic matters. Here Mr. Eisenhower has swallowed—hook, line, and sinker—the main points of the N. A. M.'s program on wage-and-price controls and related matters. Existing deficits were "planned" by Mr. Truman and his associates in order the more easily to impose a planned or managed economy on the American people. "Sound fiscal and monetary" policies, rather than direct controls, are the proper weapons to use in the war against inflation; direct controls offend the character and temperament of the American people, who are opposed to "artificial and

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arbitrary controls of any kind." Let the government balance the budget; let it adopt sound financial policies, and the economy will manage itself. To be sure, the President recognizes that it would be unwise to reduce tax revenues until substantial cuts can be made in the budget; but the goal is clear. And given the facts of political life, it is equally clear that any budgetary cuts the Eighty-third Congress may be able to make will be at the expense of social-service and welfare programs. Yet with military appropriations forming so large a part of the budget, it will be difficult even for this Congress to make substantial cuts in the budgets of civilian agencies, which in many instances have failed to keep pace with expanding needs. So it may be assumed that the review of the tax structure, which the President favors, will result in legislation shifting still more of the tax burden from corporations to individual consumers, from the high to the low and middle-income groups. Essentially what the President proposes is to fit the policy to the purse and to determine the contents of the purse by adjusting taxes to the scale of profits to which big business has become accustomed.

The reversal of attitude is as clearly revealed in what the President did not say as in what he said. Carefully avoided were any references to tidelands oil, to the industrial use of atomic power, to pending anti-trust suits, and to price-rigging and other monopolistic practices. The few references to education and extension of social-security coverage were weak and inadequate. Not a word was said about the development of underdeveloped areas abroad. Aside from a reference to "false servants" and the loyalty program, there was little about civil liberties and what the President did say raised more questions than it answered. For example, he failed to indicate what his policy will be toward the roving inquiries of Velde, McCarthy, and Jenner. Are these witch-hunters to be given a license to hunt "reds" in every walk of life except in the federal service? Or will Mr. Brownell, by chance, use the report of the Senate Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections to keep McCarthy in line?

The President wants all citizens to produce, "produce more, and produce yet more," but he did not mention the necessity of increasing consumer purchasing power or of bringing about a wider distribution of income. Farm policies are to be "studied"; health and housing programs are to be "studied"; the needs of the schools call for "careful Congressional study." Generously interpreted, his domestic proposals constitute an old-fashioned, conservative, static social program; less generously interpreted, the program is regressive in nearly every aspect. To make matters worse, the President actually thinks of this domestic program as "a middle way between untrammeled freedom of the individual and the demands for the welfare of the whole nation." But it is not a middle way; on the contrary, the President has set forth on the right hand side of the road which leads back to the social and economic presuppositions of Herbert Clark Hoover.

The political education of Dwight D. Eisenhower promises to be an interesting spectacle. The prospect of watching it, however, would be more exhilarating were the attendant risks confined to the big-business elements that have already taken charge of his Administration. Unfortunately this will not be the case. As the executive council of the American Federation of Labor has pointed out, the President's State of the Union Message is "loaded with potential danger" for all of us.

Helping the Handicapped

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

United Nations

THERE have been frequent occasions on which I have had to criticize the United Nations. It is therefore all the more pleasant to praise it when praise is due. An occasion for praise has been provided by the opening at the U. N. headquarters of a conference on the rehabilitation of physically handicapped persons throughout the world.

I have been able to watch the preparation of this conference from the office of one of its organizers, Ernst Jorgenson of Denmark. He is himself an impressive demonstration of what handicapped persons—Mr. Jorgenson is blind—can accomplish by a combination of spiritual strength and unselfish devotion. Alone with him in his office, I watched him as he handled by telephone the innumerable details involved in getting a conference under way.

Mr. Jorgenson is in charge of the rehabilitation unit of the U. N. secretariat. He has long been chairman of the Danish Association for the Blind and of the Federation of Danish Invalid Organizations and has served on various government committees concerned with the problems of disabled persons.

He told me something of the work, started two years ago under the auspices of the United Nations Social Commission, of establishing instruction centers adapted to local conditions for the rehabilitation of the handicapped. Mr. Jorgenson's movements are remarkably certain, his tone is precise and vigorous, and the sentimental note is conspicuous by its absence. He emphasized what it means to the individual to feel able to lead an almost normal working life and what gain it represents for his people—a double gain actually, since additional thousands of workers not only make positive contributions to their country's economy but the negative one of saving funds which would otherwise have to be spent on their support. "It is not only humane and worthy of an advanced civilization," he said; "it also pays." His remarks were entirely substantiated by Henry Viscardi, Jr., executive director of Just One Break, Inc., who last week

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revealed that the United States was paying a frightful amount for disabilities from all causes—now at the fantastic figure of 28,000,000.

The United Nations initiative has awakened widespread interest in such projects and inspired a noble competition in schemes for instruction and work. Mr. Jorgenson drew my attention to one of the most recent —the opening in Egypt of a demonstration center for the blind. The pattern generally followed is for the United Nations to send one or more experts to the place chosen for a new center. One of their principal assignments is to gather a group of native students and instruct them in how to operate the center and even start new ones. Mr. Jorgenson hopes that the Egyptian center will be followed by projects for the rehabilitation of the blind throughout the Middle East.

No distinction is being made between the victims of war and those disabled through disease or industrial accidents, or from birth. The fact that a person is physically handicapped places him within the orbit of the rehabilitation effort. It is a task that requires large numbers of trained personnel. The conference which meets here on February 9 and 10 will devote much of its attention to this aspect of the problem. International training facilities for service to the disabled still leave a good deal to be desired. It is partly a matter of money. The United Nations' specialized agencies, as well as several of the member states, have provided fellowships, scholarships, and other grants, but on a limited scale. There is also the problem of creating growing cadres of trained staff. A statement submitted to the conference by the International Society for the Welfare of Cripples recognized that the United Nations and its agencies have established selection criteria and programming procedures which have greatly increased the value of their work but noted that there was still need of better cooperation between the different organizations in the field. To deal with this aspect of the problem, a second conference will be called immediately after this one, to be attended by representatives of the World Health Organization, the International Labor Office, UNESCO, and other agencies.

A number of very encouraging reports have come in from various countries. Studies made in Sweden show that, given adequate methods of rehabilitation, even very badly handicapped persons can learn to do effective work in their own surroundings. American studies of the collective employment of physically handicapped persons prove that their productivity in suitable operations equals that of normal workers, that their rate of absenteeism is low, and that their accident rate at work is better than average.

Particularly impressive is the work done with crippled children, who are being trained to become useful, well-adjusted producers and citizens. There are more than 300 Scout units of physically handicapped children in the United States. "We live," Mr. Jorgenson told me, "in an era of specialization, and it is only a question of finding out where each disabled person, child or adult, will fit today or tomorrow." Most of the work has been limited to the physically disabled, but Mr. Jorgenson has not abandoned hope of a parallel effort in aid of the mentally handicapped.

If lack of money stands in the way of pushing forward this admirable work, I suggest that one atomic bomb less be made and the dollars saved turned over to this department of the United Nations.

The Morse Code

BY BRUCE CATTON

Washington

AS SOON as the bemused Democratic liberals get over their present condition of shell shock they will find they have a well-prepared position from which to start the important job of defeating the reactionary drive of the Eisenhower Administration. This position is being put in shape by Senator Wayne Morse, independent, of Oregon.

Morse is waging a fight which for courage and vision has had no parallel since George W. Norris staked out the field on which liberals could rally during the dark days of Coolidge and Hoover. So far he is fighting practically alone. When Congress opened, the Democrats, possibly because they were still reeling from the election results, joined hands with the Republicans in an attempt to cut his political throat. The vote which knocked Morse loose from his Senate committee assignments was a vote of the whole Senate, not merely of the Republican majority. Only five Democrats and one Republican supported him in that showdown. No protests were received from labor organizations or other important progressive groups.

Standing thus alone, Morse is open to all the criticism which descends on the lone operator. By turns he is presented in the press as the unhappy sore-head who is against everything and the erratic egoist who flits from position to position without regard for consistency.

BRUCE CATTON is writing a series of articles on the Washington scene.

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Senator Wayne Morse

Actually, he is neither. And certainly he is the most effective opponent of the Republican Administration in Washington today.

He is effective because he is not content merely to attack. He tries to show the pattern of his adversary's actions which invites the attack. For instance: quite a number of people complained that the new Cabinet looked remarkably like a millionaires' club and objected bitterly to the attitude of Charles E. Wilson and other appointees to Defense Department posts. It was Morse, however, who demonstrated that the real trouble was not a few ill-advised appointments but the fact that a big-business Administration logically means government by and for big business men, and that the interests of big business are not those of the people. Similarly, as special interests flex their muscles for a grab at off-shore oil, public power, and public lands, Morse does not merely point an accusing finger at the schemers; he shows why such grabs are to be expected under an Administration supported by special interests.

To give another example, Morse attacks the military influence in government not by denouncing generals for being poor liberals but by citing chapter and verse to show that this influence is pernicious. In the first place, he says, army officers in Europe blithely talk about *when* the third world war will come instead of whether it will come, thereby giving all Europe the jitters; in the second place, the Pentagon spends so wastefully that we could cut our military budget at least 25 per cent, get just as much defense as we now have, and set world communism back several notches by applying the saving to economic aid.

Morse is not just a gadfly trying to vex good Republicans. He is building up a solid body of doctrine on which liberals can eventually return to the offensive. The spade work for the campaign has to be done by someone who is in the thick of things on Capitol Hill. Morse is there, and that is what he is working at.

The steps by which he emerged as President Eisenhower's stoutest antagonist make an interesting story. Less than three years ago Morse was a strong supporter of Eisenhower for President; one of the first to declare himself in the Senate. Eisenhower appeared before the Senate Armed Services Committee, of which Morse was a member, and made an excellent impression; Morse felt that through him it might be possible to reverse the long-continued trend in the Republican Party and develop a truly liberal program. This impression was strengthened when word came to various liberal Senators that Eisenhower saw the nomination of Senator Taft in 1952 as nothing less than a disaster and would be willing to spearhead the fight to prevent it.

DISILLUSIONMENT came by slow stages but was cumulative. It began at the Chicago convention when Eisenhower in effect ordered the nomination of Nixon for Vice-President. This looked to Morse too much like the steam-roller tactics which had raised so much opposition to Taft's candidacy. The famous Morningside Heights compromise followed, indicating that the General as a matter of political expediency was adopting the program of a man whose prospective nomination, earlier, had looked to him like disaster. At this point Senator Morse began to suspect that Eisenhower was primarily a military man rather than a statesman and acting on the military principle of accepting aid from any source in order to gain his objective.

Shortly after this, while Morse was cooling toward Eisenhower with considerable rapidity, he was asked to be on the platform when the General addressed the convention of the American Federation of Labor. Morse said he might be willing if what the General was going to say was something he could go along with; would they please show him what the speech would contain? This they could not do because they did not know anything about it. They wanted Morse for window dressing. They did not get him.

Next came the Jenner episode, with the public embrace visible all across Indiana and farther. While Morse was finding this impossible to swallow, an Eisenhower man came to him to solicit his indorsement of the General. Morse said the Jenner episode had disillusioned him, "Don't be naive," the Eisenhower man replied. "The General really hates Jenner. What he'd like to have done was give him a poke in the jaw."

The final straw was Ike's campaign speech blaming the State Department for the premature withdrawal of troops from Korea. As a member of the Senate Armed Services Committee, Morse remembered having seen a document in which General Eisenhower had joined with the chiefs of staff in approving the withdrawal. Since this document had been "classified," it seemed safe for the General to make his accusation. Morse got it declassified, however, broke the secret—and broke the last thread between himself and the man he had once thought might be the redeemer of the Republican Party.

The record hardly indicates that Morse has been erratic in first supporting and then opposing Eisenhower. But it helps one to understand the pressure applied in the Senate to get him off the Armed Services Committee. A

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man with so little reverence for military men and military thinking can be a very thorny member of such a committee.

So much heat was put on, as a matter of fact, that in the process of disciplining Morse the Senate killed its own prized seniority system, if anybody ever wants to make anything of it. For some eighty years seniority has been the chief feature of the Senate's organization. Once a man is put on a committee, he stays on it, if he wishes to, until the voters retire him. And finally he becomes chairman. It is this system which infallibly brings aging Southern Democrats to the chairmanship of key committees. Until recently there was no way of preventing it. Now the Senate has voted that a man can be ousted from his committees, seniority or no. It is possible that the precedent will rise to haunt people some day.

Morse is definitely not a sore-head. He does have some of the bitterness of a man who has to fight alone, but most of it is directed, not at the reactionaries who are his chosen foes, but at the liberals who might have been standing beside him. It is a safe bet that this anger will vanish when liberals begin to take up the work he has started, as they will doubtless do before long. "What you need here in the Senate," Morse has said, "is a bunch of guys who are willing to be defeated but aren't willing to compromise on their principles." There are plenty of Senators of that description, and they will come out of their coma before long.

Freud and the Hucksters

BY RALPH GOODMAN

SEDUCED by the advertising industry, an increasing number of social scientists are turning into superhucksters. Today any number of psychologists and sociologists will gladly undertake to probe the mass mind to discover, for instance, how non-drinkers can be persuaded to drink and drinkers to drink more. They only want a fat check—which they get.

To understand this strange marriage between salesmanship and the social sciences, one must view it against the background of our merchandising system. Advertising's single function is to sell the goods produced by industry. A successful advertising agency must therefore conduct extensive market research. In agencies of any size a special department collects all kinds of data on the markets open to clients' products and on consumers' reactions to both products and advertising.

In this task it uses the work done by the pollsters. Roper, Gallup, Crossley, and the others do not depend for their livelihood, as some may think, on political forecasting but on market surveys done for business. In fact, the whole range of statistical research and opinion sampling got its first impetus from business concerns which felt the need of reliable data on markets and consumer attitudes.

Sociology and psychology have recently come in for increased attention on the theory that if an advertising man can gain a better understanding of human behavior, he will be able to turn out copy with more "sell" appeal. Of course advertising has always used this approach in a haphazard, intuitive manner. Deodorants, soaps, and toothpastes have been sold through an appeal to such human emotions as love, fear, ambition, and the desire to be popular. Commercial use of facts discovered by the social sciences has long been advocated by certain psychologists, notably Ernest Dichter and the late Henry C. Link; as far back as 1919 Link was acting as psychological consultant to the United States Rubber Company. A number of advertising agencies have quietly but consciously employed these techniques for more than a decade.

Today the application of the social sciences to advertising has become a veritable fad. McCann-Erickson, one of the five top agencies in the United States, has its own psychological-research staff. Weiss and Geller, a large Chicago agency, holds regular staff conferences with prominent social scientists; Edward Weiss, president of the agency, believes the social sciences will "revolutionize" advertising. The lead article in the fall *Journal of Marketing* described the various schools of psychology and made suggestions about how their concepts could be used in marketing. The Chicago *Tribune's* Distribution and Advertising Forum for 1952 took as one of its three basic topics the role that the social sciences can play in advertising and selling. At the annual convention of the American Marketing Association held in Chicago at the end of December, the social sciences stole the show, getting front-page play in the *Wall Street Journal* and *Advertising Age*.

How, specifically, are the techniques of the social sciences being utilized in advertising? A brief account of a few typical advertising campaigns will make the procedure fairly clear.

Why do people chew gum? The Wrigley Gum Company wanted to know, and Weiss and Geller undertook

RALPH GOODMAN is the pseudonym of an executive in an important institution connected with the American advertising industry.

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to find the answer. A study made at the Institute of Psychoanalysis in Chicago produced three reasons—for oral comfort, for release of tension, to express symbolic hostility or aggression. The advertising agency next made a comprehensive sociological survey of a coal-mining area in eastern Pennsylvania, where gum sales were well below the national level. It discovered that the area had a relatively high rate of illiteracy, a large foreign-born population, and a low standard of living.

Putting the results of the two studies together, Weiss and Geller laid out a campaign for this particular region. The theme was frustration and the relief obtained by chewing gum. The idea was presented on a series of comic-strip ads. The first showed a child unable to do a simple, everyday task and overcoming his difficulty after an adult gave him a stick of gum. A second showed adults conquering frustration in the same way. The strips used a minimum of words so as to avoid the impression of insincerity and reach a not too literate public. During the year that the campaign ran, Wrigley reported that sales in the test area increased at a much higher rate than in the rest of the country. As a result the campaign was expanded to fourteen other markets.

Why do people drink? McCann-Erickson explored this question by interviewing people while they were drinking. The results seemed to divide drinkers into two main groups—those who drink as a means of retreat, and those who drink for the effect. The agency felt it could not project the first group in an ad in terms of a social situation. Its analysis of the second group revealed that the heavy drinkers drink either because it makes them feel better, helps them overcome their shyness, and so on or because they "become able to think independently and to use their creative ability." Another finding was that drinkers tend to associate the taste of liquor with the effect produced.

Since previous market research had showed that heavy drinkers consume 80 per cent of the hard liquor sold, McCann-Erickson decided that effective liquor advertising should "feature a taste promise which had an effect connotation" and "the types of drinks popular among heavy drinkers." Two McCann-Erickson clients who might be interested in this study are Melrose Distillers and Schenley Distillers.

Why do people smoke? This question was investigated by Social Research, Inc., which discovered the following reasons: cigarettes relieve tension, express sociability, aid poise, help anticipate stress, give sensory pleasure, are proof of daring, are signs of sophistication, help discharge energy, and signify conformity.

Advertising is important, Social Research stressed, because it popularizes a brand and smokers want to think their brand is popular. Advertising thus helps to make smoking "respectable." But the problem of all cigarette advertising, Social Research told the manufacturers, is how to combine a pleasure promise with reassurances that the tobacco will not hurt you. The solution advanced by Social Research was the generalization: "Cigarette advertising calls for creativity, for new departures, for an invitation to smoke that is not just a variation of assertions that 'you like it' or 'it won't hurt you'."

Other special psychological tests being used today in marketing have to do with "thematic apperception," word association, Rorschach ink blots, and Rosenzweig picture frustration. One company, the Ad Detector Research Corporation of Chicago, even uses the galvanometer, or lie detector. Consumers are strapped to the machine, ads are flashed before their eyes, and as they comment, their reactions are recorded. The Chicago *Tribune* has made this copy-testing service available to its advertisers at a cost of $75 per ad.

A NUMBER of concerns have profited greatly from this tendency to base advertising on sociological and psychological studies. The Psychological Corporation, founded thirty years ago in New York, lost money for some time, but with advertisers' acceptance of psychological research, its income rose from $250,000 in 1939 to $1,500,000 in 1951. Today more than half of its earnings comes from business and industry. The head of the Institute for Research in Mass Motivations, Dr. Ernest Dichter, a Vienna-born psychologist, began by helping the Chrysler Corporation to sell Plymouths through a socio-psychological advertising approach in 1937. Since then, he has, in his own words, "conducted research and completed more than 300 surveys in almost every field of selling and for almost every type of product."

It should be pointed out here that the social scientists engaged in market research are not of the pseudo variety. Many are ranking authorities in their fields. For example, among the present directors of the Psychological Corporation are Robert L. Thorndike, professor of education at Columbia University; Robert S. Woodworth, professor emeritus of psychology at Columbia; Donald G. Marquis, chairman of the Department of Psychology at the University of Michigan; and Walter R. Miles, professor of psychology at Yale. The executive director of Social Research, Inc., in Chicago is Burleigh Gardner, a former University of Chicago professor and co-author of "Deep South." Dr. Gardner as teacher and scholar contributed greatly to our understanding of class differences in American culture. Recently he addressed the American Marketing Association on the topic, "Putting Stereotypes and Prejudices to Work in Your Advertising Strategy." Drawing on his knowledge of American society he warned advertisers that the right stereotype must be used for each economic and social group: in ads intended for *Ebony* a Negro model must be used; an ad

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designed for the *New Yorker* will not have maximum impact on readers of *True Detective*.

The role played by social science in advertising raises the issue of the social scientist's place in society. Often, pleading "objectivity," he chooses to remain aloof from the social struggle. But his work shows that he stands for social and economic reform. His studies have inevitably led him to take the position, at least on the abstract level, that the structure of society, not human nature, is responsible for such ills as poverty and discrimination. It is ironic, then, to find sociologists and psychologists—most of whom know the score on social and economic inequalities—offering their services for projects whose aim is to increase sales through the manipulation of legitimate consumer desires. If the social scientist becomes the hireling of advertising and business, how can he study objectively their social implications?

Social scientists in the past have paid attention to the irrational patterns of human behavior because they wish to locate their social origins and thus be able to suggest changes that would result in more rational conduct. They now study irrationality—and other aspects of human behavior—to gather data that may be used by salesmen to manipulate consumers. No one, except perhaps Mr. Wrigley, can believe that chewing gum will relieve the basic frustrations of Pennsylvania coal miners.

The entrance of bona fide social scientists into the field of marketing is all the more shocking in view of the known damaging effects on personality of advertising which stimulates desires but offers no real means of satisfying them. The late Karen Horney, in "The Neurotic Personality of Our Time," referred to this danger:

> For economic reasons needs are constantly being stimulated in our culture by such means as advertisements, "conspicuous consumption," the ideal of "keeping up with the Joneses." For the great majority, however, the actual fulfilment of these needs is closely restricted. The psychic consequence for the individual is a constant discrepancy between his desires and their fulfilment.

The sales executive, however, looks upon the public —his market—as an uninformed mass of people in whom certain desires must be aroused to get them to part with their money. The assumption of the business man is almost always that the public has the necessary purchasing power but for some ridiculous reason—such as insecurity—does not want to use it.

There is already evidence that the qualitative researchers plan to extend their operations beyond selling to the manipulation of public opinion on political questions. In 1951 the Psychological Corporation tested the effectiveness of a comic book "designed for the economic education of industrial workers." Entitled "How Stalin Hopes We Will Destroy America," the book was distributed to a group of factory workers, and "its impact was tested in terms of ideas left with readers and attitudes affected." The results indicated, the research concern reported, that "the booklet had an educational effect." It was therefore sponsored by an industrial client, who has distributed 800,000 copies to date. Ernest Dichter, in a series of talks he gave before the 1952 Presidential election, predicted that the campaign issues —Korea, inflation, corruption—would have little to do with the outcome. The decisive factor, according to Dichter, would be the emotional appeal exercised by the candidates. After the election Burleigh Gardner said in a letter to *Tide*, a news weekly for the advertising industry:

> I do think it is time to apply fresh techniques to the problem of political predictions. We believe that the strong Eisenhower majority could have been predicted using projection techniques. You could probably predict from the underlying emotional tone rather than from conscious beliefs.

Dichter's and Gardner's statements come under the heading of sales promotion. For the two men are in a competitive business. They must vie with the Gallups and Ropers to get orders from business, and they want to be in the first row when political groups decide to approach the problem of voter manipulation in the same "scientific" manner in which business now approaches selling problems. It would be a mistake to assume that the sociologists and psychologists who are helping to sell soaps and cigarettes are above this kind of opinion molding.

Lichty, Chicago *Sun-Times*

"Getting the kiddies to ask Mother to buy it isn't enough. We gotta get 'em to scream, bite and kick until Mother buys it."

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Jews in Russia

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Paris

ALTHOUGH the number of Jews in the upper ranks of the medical profession in Russia has always been high, it seems more than an accident that six or seven of the nine "murderers in white overalls" of the impending Moscow purge trial should be Jews. Has anti-Semitism, it is being asked on all sides, become the official policy of the Soviet government?

It is certainly true that there has been in recent years a good deal of ambiguity in the Soviet government's attitude toward Jews. At a diplomatic reception given by Molotov toward the end of the war to which foreign correspondents were invited, I remember Homer Smith, an American Negro writer, going up to Kaganovich and saying, "Mr. Kaganovich, what is your nationality?" It seemed an impertinent question to address to so important a personage, but Mr. Smith got exactly the answer he wanted. Looking at him pointedly, Kaganovich said, "I am, in fact, a Jew, but in our country there is no racial discrimination."

Yet for quite a number of years now there has been a tendency to distinguish between "good Jews" and "bad Jews"—those who have fully adapted themselves to the Soviet regime and those who have not. There are also jobs where the Jews "fit" and jobs where they don't. Very few Jews are in agriculture, but hundreds of thousands—whose fathers were little shopkeepers—have enrolled in industry and the distributing trades. I have known Jewish miners in the Donbas and a number of Jews who became industrial executives and whose technical and administrative capacities received wide recognition in the shape of orders, medals, and even Stalin prizes.

When I was in Russia, Jews were prominent in the cinema and in light revues like Arkadi Raikin's Miniature Theater of Leningrad but were not numerous among high-class singers and actors. Reizen was the only famous Jewish singer at the Bolshoi Theater, and although the great Kachalov was said to be of Jewish descent, Jews were, in effect, barred from the Moscow Art Theater. On the other hand, there were many Jewish musicians—composers like Rachlin, violinists like Cistrach, pianists like the Gillels. In science, engineering, and medicine, as the impending trial shows, Jews attained the highest posts. In journalism a good many Jews held small posts but fewer and fewer got the big ones; today only two, Ehrenburg and Zaslavsky, are well-known regular contributors to the Moscow press. Ehrenburg was used during the war as the No. 1 anti-German hate propagandist, and although his snappy articles were popular in the Red Army, I often heard soldiers say, "He's overdoing it a bit; it's his Jewish point of view."

From at least one government department Jews are now systematically excluded. In the thirties, during the Litvinov regime, the Soviet Foreign Office was sometimes disdainfully referred to as "the synagogue," but it probably no longer contains a single Jew.

The military record of the Russian Jews during the war was remarkably good, as may be seen from a table published in October, 1942, showing the number of recipients of military decorations classified by nationality—128,000 Russians, 33,000 Ukrainians, and 5,000 Jews. Considering the size of each group in proportion to the population, the Jews received the most. This may, however, have been due to the fact that Jews, being townspeople, usually with some education, were very often officers or non-coms. Yet there were almost no Jewish generals.

At the same time, a certain amount of "primitive" anti-Semitism did exist: for example, the Jews were widely accused, though never publicly, of "wangling" for themselves the best rooms and apartments and black-market commodities. A curious phenomenon was the way the Soviet press, in describing German atrocities, tended to play down the Jewish angle, emphasizing the murder of Poles and Russian war prisoners more than the massacre of millions of Jews. It was almost as if killing Jews was not quite so bad as killing other people.

A kind of sporadic distrust of Jews has also been apparent in the higher echelons of the Communist Party itself—an inevitable hangover from the great purges of the thirties, in which an abnormally high percentage of Jews figured as Trotskyists. Soviet policy opposes not only Zionism but its opposite extreme—internationalism and the Trotskyist belief that only complete assimilation can solve the Jewish problem. In steering a middle course Soviet policy has in effect prevented complete assimilation while denying Jews the full nationality privileges explicit in Soviet law. This anomaly has tended to put Russian Jews—both those with a national consciousness and those desiring complete assimilation—into a false and ambiguous position. The very laws and regulations were to some degree ambiguous. In his passport, whether he wanted it so or not, a Jew was described as of Jewish "nationality," though there was really no such

ALEXANDER WERTH, Paris correspondent for The Nation *spent many years in Russia as a journalist.*

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thing, geographically or culturally. The number of orthodox Jews was very small indeed; the younger generation of Jews, especially, preferred more and more to be considered Russians. My own feeling is that Joseph Newman was thinking of a small unassimilated minority when he wrote in the New York *Herald Tribune* of the Zionism of Russian Jews and of the overwhelming impression made on them by the arrival of the Israeli legation. The "offensive" was started not by the Jews but by the Russians, though no doubt the little manifestations of Zionism at the time of the establishment of the Jewish state played into the hands of Russian anti-Semites.

In the general purge of the arts in 1948-49 phrases like "rootless cosmopolitan" were generally interpreted as a slur on the numerous Jews in literature and the other arts who, much more than their Russian confrères, were guilty of an interest in Western culture. When somebody at the 1949 Paris Peace Congress asked Ehrenburg what was meant by the "anti-cosmopolitan" campaign in the Russian press, he laughed the whole thing off: "Just shows we have some idiots in our press, which in turn shows that we have freedom of the press—even for idiots." But that was for foreign consumption. The Jews in Russia—or certain Jews—have now been built up to represent a foreign body in the Soviet Union, the only foreign body and therefore, potentially, the fifth column *par excellence*.

The Soviet authorities revealed grave doubts about the Jews in 1948, when they liquidated the only Yiddish paper in Moscow, the Communist *Einheit*, the Jewish publishing house, the Jewish anti-Fascist Committee, and the Jewish Theater. The last two had been associated with the name of the famous Jewish actor Michoels, who was murdered in mysterious circumstances while visiting Minsk in 1947. A Jewish theater critic named Golubov was murdered with him, and the crime was attributed, probably rightly, to an anti-Jewish pro-Nazi gang; such gangs survived in the Ukraine and Byelorussia for a number of years after the war.

WHEN we come to the nine doctors, the mystery thickens. The story of the wrong "treatment" given to Zhdanov and Shcherbakov makes no more sense than the charge that the doctors were "trying" to kill important Red Army leaders. It was generally known that Zhdanov had angina pectoris, while Shcherbakov suffered from a grave organic illuess which caused a monstrous form of obesity and was a hopeless invalid for at least two years before his death. Accounts of the plot against the generals are extremely vague. Perhaps the most significant thing that has been published was *Pravda's* attack on the lack of vigilance shown by the Security Police—an apparent attempt to implicate Beria.

On the one hand there is, it seems, a struggle for supremacy among the top Communists; on the other, an anti-Jewish drive motivated by the belief that if a potential fifth column exists in Russia it is likely to be made up of Jews, some of whom have a sneaking nostalgia for Israel while others are just a trifle too skeptical to conform wholeheartedly to the rigid moral standards of "Soviet Man," with his tremendous inner discipline and singleness of purpose. The arrest of the nine doctors—all of them extremely valuable men—is the one thing for which there is no logical explanation, even though six of them are Jews. Perhaps, to Malenkov, no price was too high to get at Beria.

Europe Looks at Dulles

[The sharply adverse reaction abroad to President Eisenhower's new directive concerning the Seventh Fleet and to other foreign-policy declarations in his State of the Union message was pointed out in our issue of February 7; other foreign-policy developments are noted in our editorial pages this week. But in a sense these developments in American policy were presaged in Secretary Dulles's TV speech to the nation, delivered on the eve of his short swing through Western Europe. For all its casualness of tone, Mr. Dulles's address was a carefully contrived exposition of the bases and objectives of the new Administration's foreign policy, and it was so regarded in European capitals. Our correspondents in Paris, London, and Bonn report below on Europe's reception of this important statement and of Mr. Dulles.]

Better Taft than Dulles?

Paris

MR. DULLES'S speech and his visit here were sharply criticized by the press, with the exception of a few right-wing papers which consistently eat out of the hand of the United States. But even their line was in effect, "Okay, but you'll have to pay more for Indo-China." The opposition hardened when it was noted that Britain was not responding favorably either. If Britain would join up with the Continent, France would be more disposed to subscribe to the rearmament of Germany. Since it refused, Dulles was really demanding a lot and offering nothing in return.

What, it is asked, are the alternatives implicit in the Dulles policy? One seems to be the peripheral strategy dear to the heart of Senator Taft; the other, development of the *Wehrmacht* either as an independent force or as

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part of a European army to which Britain would not contribute. If the peripheral strategy means that American bombers would be available to check a Russian invasion of Europe, many Frenchmen would prefer it—unfamiliar though it still seems for the present—to reconstitution of the *Wehrmacht* in any form. And if, as *Franc-Tireur* suggests, France must do without dollars in the future, it could save a lot of money by pulling out of Indo-China.

John Foster Dulles

Yet it would be rash to prophesy that the French, so hard-pressed economically, have been persuaded by Mr. Dulles to follow any bold new line. It looks as if France were facing a period of hard bargaining in which it will be subjected to insults, threats, and a lot of bullying. The Dulles approach seems to have already deprived the free world of even a semblance of unity and dignity.

There is still in France a deep sense of freedom and a livelier intellectual life than anywhere else in the world. Whatever may be the government's temptation to yield to Mr. Dulles, one can be sure that the tougher his manner, the stronger will be the French resistance.

ALEXANDER WERTH

No Shotgun Wedding

London

THE British were startled, to say the least, by Dulles's tip-off that the chief purpose of his hurried visit to Europe was to "shotgun" Western Europe into federal unity. The usually pro-American *Economist* snapped:

> Mr. Dulles must not be surprised if Europeans inquire what the real object of the policy is, to use the European Defense Community to ward off the Communist threat or to use the Communist threat to remake Europe in America's federal image? . . . If it is Mr. Dulles's policy to force Britain into full membership of a West European federation, then his policy will fail. Neither in trade nor in strategy nor in political affectations does the United Kingdom regard itself as exclusively or even mainly a European country. This leads them to wonder why it should be so immoral for them to stay out of something that the moralizer himself has never had any intention of joining.

Brendan Bracken, Churchill's war-time Minister of Information and his close friend, wrote in the *Financial Times* that Mr. Dulles is "perhaps the only surviving admirer" of Horatio Alger, but insisted that "the disciple is a more active moralizer and his grasp on the obvious is firmer."

The *Economist* and other pro-American journals are indignant that Mr. Dulles has borne out the charges of American "dictation" which they have so often refuted. British statesmen do not like having pistols held to their heads. A friend of mine who is employed in one of Britain's largest companies insists that the Conservatives are now infinitely more anti-American than the Bevanites. Nevertheless, Mr. Eden managed adroitly to cut off Commons debate on the Dulles visit, and the lengths to which the British will actually go to oppose his policies remains to be seen.

ANDREW ROTH

Happiness at Bonn

Bonn

THE West German government, including its constituent parties and its press, received Dulles's speech with emotions best described by the almost untranslatable word *Schadenfreude*—pleasure caused by the misfortune of others. Adenauer and his supporters regard themselves as model pupils of the European school directed from Washington; they can hardly contain their joy at seeing London and Paris given bad marks.

This is no flight of fancy. The *Süddeutsche Zeitung* headlined its report on Dulles's visit to Europe: "The School Inspector Is Coming!" The theme recurrent in the government press is that "Paris is afraid that Bonn may take its place" as the center of Western Europe.

Not satisfied with supplanting London and Paris in Washington's favor, the West German ruling groups seemingly hope soon to meet the United States on a footing of equality. Now that Bonn has obtained its army, these Germans are saying that the French had better look out or they will be excluded entirely from the European Defense Community. The comment of the liberal-rightist *Stuttgarter Nachrichten* is typical:

> If Europe wishes to remain in the political orbit of the West, it must adapt itself to the new situation outlined by Dulles. If the politicians of Europe's states could achieve unity, a European "consciousness" would exist to deal with an American "consciousness." And this would carry the strongest possible weight with Dulles, who is looking—and not without good reason—for strong partners.

Adenauer himself, echoing the views of "Inspector" Dulles, bluntly declared: "Anybody who believes that Europe will be insured by America if it doesn't pay the premiums is sadly mistaken."

CAROLUS

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BOOKS and the ARTS

Ethics and Economics

GOALS OF ECONOMIC LIFE. Edited by A. Dudley Ward. Harper and Brothers. $4.

MANY economists have worked hard to make economics a science separated from ethical assumptions and devoted to the evaluation of efficiency. This volume takes an apparently opposite tack. Fifteen distinguished scholars drawn from economics, political science, biology, psychology, anthropology, philosophy, and theology combine to explore the relationship between ethics and economics and to distinguish appropriate Protestant roles in individual, group, and public conduct. The contributors include J. M. Clark, Frank Knight, Robert McIver, Reinhold Niebuhr, and Ralph Linton, among others. The enterprise is sponsored by the Federal Council of Churches and supported by a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation. Five additional volumes will appear later.

The venture promises well. The Protestant, or more precisely the Calvinist, tradition is closely connected with the system of incentives under which free enterprise has flourished. Today many thoughtful Americans find the material achievements of free enterprise no unmixed triumph. Though they rejoice in its real promise of an end to poverty and in its lightening of toil, they uneasily sense a lack of corresponding ethical progress and suspect that men are not better because they are richer. Can we be better and better off? Are justice, freedom, and abundance compatible? We anticipate much from the examination of such questions by a group as well versed as this in various aspects of the study of man.

Much is given to us. The general quality of the essays is excellent. The five written by economists are nontechnical and extremely provocative. In them J. M. Clark demonstrates the inadequacy of market valuations; Kenneth Boulding examines the concept of progress and its close connection with free competition; Clarence Danhof and Eduard Heimann place our own system in the perspective of other cultures; and William Vickrey makes conflicts among values the central point of his essay. The other tidbits in this intellectual smorgasbord delighted this reviewer, a novice in all save economics, even more. There are Mr. Emerson's detailed comparisons of the ways of animals and men and his suggestion that much in human behavior is explained by homeostasis, the effort of the individual organism and conceivably of social groups to maintain healthy physiological and psychological balances; Mr. Snygg's list of psychological theories (an economist cannot repress an unworthy joy that Mr. Snygg blames physiology for some of psychology's defects much as economists now and then scold psychology for economics' deficiencies); Mr. Green's philosophical defense of stability in values and his proof of the existence of God; and Mr. Niebuhr's eloquent call upon Christian love to harness a human selfishness he sadly recognizes as strong and persistent. Each of these essays illuminates its own intellectual field, no small tribute to essays which average only thirty pages.

Nevertheless, judged by its stated purposes, the enterprise is a failure full of merits incidental to its objectives. The obvious mark of failure is the book's disunity. Although the contributors refer respectfully to their colleagues' contributions, they rarely use them to modify their premises, verify their techniques, or amend their conclusions. The sad fact is that we are treated to separate essays translated from several technical languages on a variety of subjects and never shown how these partial insights into man's condition can be combined to form a more complete understanding. Each expert, firm and confident in the handling of his own subject, grows reticent as he approaches its frontiers and mute when he passes beyond them. The two theological essays and the single philosophical one are partial exceptions to this generalization. Their merit is an attempt to see man whole. Their fault is a level of abstraction so high as to obscure their view of concrete human behavior.

Indeed, it is difficult to understand how either a sincere Protestant or a sincere unbeliever can alter action or attitude because of what he reads here. Though various authors inform him that free enterprise and state control must be combined, that different cultures have adopted different values, that psychologists disagree on man's nature, that love of God is a crowning possession, and much else, no one guides him on the path of daily life. As a good Christian should he enrich himself? All contributors agree that self-interest is a powerful drive. All share the belief that it has proper limits. But what are these limits? How, by examining his conscience or this book, can a person decide that he has amassed too much or that his methods were unworthy? For no longer, our theologians agree, can wealth be taken as a sign of grace.

No answers are vouchsafed to these difficult questions, and, in truth, few concrete suggestions are made. Even more surprising is how little impact their common Christian faith has on the contributions of these scholars. As far as we can judge from this book, theology, instead of influencing other disciplines, has assumed a place alongside them as one more analytical framework on which to hang partial truths. Although this symposium interests and informs, like most others it conspicuously fails to integrate. ROBERT LEKACHMAN

Struggle for a Soul

THE CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN PAUL CLAUDEL AND ANDRE GIDE. Introduction and Notes by Robert Mallet. Prefaced and Translated by John Russell. Pantheon Books. $4.

THE famous correspondence of Alain-Fournier and Jacques Rivière takes one into the very climate of French intellectual life as no historical survey could. And so too does this present volume of letters written between 1899 and 1926. The very fact that publication in France occurred in 1949, while the two long-estranged antagonists were still alive, is of the first importance. Gide

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and Claudel alike recognized that their struggle for Gide's soul transcended private bitterness; it was a moment in the conscience of the race. And the French public, because it is what it is and still respects the opinions of writers, accepted their recognition. It is heartening to see this kind of controversy conducted not in a courtroom or before investigative committees but within the pages of a book. Even today representative intellectual controversy is front-page news in France, with the frail Mauriac fending off both Sartre and Cocteau.

These letters contain some new information for the student of Gide. They tell us that "Le Retour de l'enfant prodigue" was partly conceived as an answer to Claudel; that the Freudian motivation of "La Porte étroite" was an afterthought; that as late as 1914 Gide's homosexuality was not known to some of his close associates. But the first and lasting interest is the struggle for a soul. "You are the stake, the protagonist, and the cockpit of a great struggle whose outcome I cannot foresee, but I think that what is best in you will end by opening its wings." So Claudel wrote in his last letter, but by 1947 he had given up all hope. He then saw Gide at the beginning of the downfall of all the young men who wrote him letters after having "gone astray." And he would recognize in Gide no talent "at all."

The Catholic and non-Catholic cannot be expected to read these letters with the same eye. In fairness to Claudel one must grant that Gide's slipperiness at times bordered on deception; more than once he presented himself as closer to conversion than he was. The brutal proselytism of Claudel, deeply offensive to me, will seem nobly disinterested to many others. What at least deserves open discussion is the attitude of certain French Catholics toward suppression of the truth. Francis Jammes set the pattern when he complained of a passage in "Le Voyage d'Urien." Du Bos, Maritain, and others pleaded with Gide to suppress "Si le Grain ne meurt." And in the crucial pages of this correspondence Claudel begs Gide to remove a passage with homosexual connotations from "Les Caves du Vatican." These vices "are neither permitted, nor excusable, nor avowable." *Nor avowable.* If the confessions had to be made publicly, they should at least be made posthumously. Against this position Gide argued, as always, his hatred of hypocrisy.

ALBERT J. GUERARD

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Rise of Chinese Communism

A DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF CHINESE COMMUNISM. By Conrad Brandt, Benjamin Schwartz, and John K. Fairbank. Harvard University Press. $7.50.

FOR five years China has supplied one of the most controversial issues in American politics. The issue has been used to blacken reputations and ruin private lives; it has helped some political figures to build their careers; and it played, I believe, a role in the defeat of the Democratic Party. Perhaps one of the most lamentable effects of the controversy has been the shrinking of examination and free discussion of the developments in China. Many a student of Chinese affairs who could contribute to the discussion today keeps silent for fear of championing an unpopular notion.

In view of this growing aridity it is especially pleasant to report the publication of a chrestomathy that should not only provoke useful debate but remain a standard work on Chinese communism. The book, its authors explain modestly, is a study of the Chinese Communist Party line, "not a history of the movement as a whole, much less a history of the Chinese revolution." The authors underestimate the value of their own work. For this fat volume *is* a history of the Communist movement. What is missing from the forty Chinese Communist documents is supplied in the twenty-six commentaries—all of them very good and a few of them brilliant—by the Harvard scholars. It reflects no discredit on the authors that they do not give definitive answers to the questions they raise.

These questions and conclusions are of great moment to the United States. Is Red China the latest of Russia's satellites? Is there any possibility of Mao Tse-tung becoming another Tito? Was the Chinese revolution a product of Soviet intrigue, and could any conceivable United States action have arrested its progress?

It is not easy to detect any clear answers in the Chinese documents, for in China as in Russia the party line has been a series of violent zigzags rather than a straight line. Yet the picture that emerges does carry a lesson. The party itself was created in 1921—by Mao among twelve Chinese—in the Bolshevik image and in the presence of a Comintern emissary. For the next seven or eight years it was directly, closely, and disastrously supervised by Moscow. Late in 1922 Karl Radek forecast the next turn in China by advocating an alliance between the Communists and the Kuomintang. The Chinese Communists obediently and formally approved this step six months later. Joffe, Borodin, Mif, Galen, Roy, and scores of other less well-known figures begin then to appear behind the Chinese Party, guiding it, warning, watching, and at times summarily firing its leaders. Tragically for the Chinese Communists, their greatest crisis coincided with the titanic battle between Trotsky and Stalin. Moscow's ignorance of the Chinese scene compounded the confusion among the Chinese Communists and caused the death of uncounted thousands.

While the party line zigzagged madly,

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while the party leaders were being fired by Moscow or forced into insane and bloody adventures, Mao went off on his own. For years as the documents in the book show, he had believed that revolution could grow sturdy roots in the countryside. By 1927 the Hunan peasant associations he had organized had more than 2,000,000 members. That September he led an abortive peasant revolt, and in November he set up the first Soviet. In this year Mao was left off the party Politburo, and the Central Committee declined to submit to the party congress his land-redistribution plan. The Comintern, and Stalin himself, still insisted that the "initiator and guide" of the Chinese revolution must be the urban proletariat. But the papers of Mao presented in the book show he had already decided that the poor peasantry would serve very satisfactorily as the "revolutionary vanguard." In this respect, the authors suggest, Mao had given a new twist to Leninism.

In the next few years the Moscow-controlled party organization in the cities crumbled, while Mao and his rural associates gained strength. Finally the Comintern agents, including Chou En-lai, who survived the urban disaster, came to Mao's country strongholds to seek refuge and assignment. With no choice before it Moscow adopted Mao as its favorite son. And being both a Leninist and a shrewd Chinese compromiser, Mao took the proffered olive branch—for years there was little more than this branch.

As the "Documentary History" shows, the party line continued to zigzag under Mao, less at the time in response to Moscow's wishes than to the need to retain peasant support and win the backing of the anti-Japanese, nationalist segments of the population. It was not until the Communists had defeated Chiang Kai-shek and Mao had made his pilgrimage to the Kremlin that the party line made a violent twist back to the orthodox notion of a revolution guided by urban workers. Unfortunately, the book stops with 1950. It thus touches but lightly on this twist or the other important developments since then. The authors suggest, however, that one of the effects of Moscow's adventure in Korea was to fix China within the Soviet orbit, and another was to speed up the process toward totalitarian controls and methods.

Is the Chinese Communist Party a Soviet satellite? The authors feel the relation is rather that between a senior and a junior partner, with the powerful Chinese nationalism barring any swallowing of China by the Soviet empire. On the other hand, they say, while Communist propaganda may keep the Sino-Soviet bonds firm over a short term, in the long run Chinese nationalism may assert itself, as did that of Yugoslavia. MARK GAYN

The Crane Legend

THE LETTERS OF HART CRANE, 1916-1932. Edited by Brom Weber. Hermitage House. $5.

AMERICAN poets can seldom hope to be elevated to mythological status with such splendid Byronic rapidity as Hart Crane. The American imagination is nothing if not prudential. But Crane is our astonishing exception; somehow he burst our bonds of native caution and humor, not only among the sentimentalists of state poetry societies but among otherwise sober and learned men. The process was begun during his brief lifetime, and now for a decade or more he has been securely lodged among the constellations. And it is perhaps unfortunately true that he has been more useful to American letters as a myth than he was—or would have been had he lived longer—as a working poet. Whether you are an idolater or a detractor, you can deal more effectively with a myth than with a real live poet, human and corrupt.

Moreover, it is perhaps similarly unfortunate that this volume of Crane's letters—intelligently and meticulously edited by Mr. Weber—will do little to reestablish the memory of the poet on a more effable plane. The fact is, Crane *was* a myth. He believed it, and he insisted upon it. Throughout an incredible series of fights, affairs, jobs, hangovers, moves, illnesses, family squabbles, and in spite of long periods of creative inertia, he managed to subordinate every motion and every emergency to a ruling, consuming, conscious drive to write poetry—and not just to write but to drown himself in a tumultuous sea of creative passion.

One cannot read this volume through without receiving the impression that Crane was more than half mad almost all the time. The letters, voluble and fluent, are full of outbursts and despairs. They are full also of solecisms, so many that one can scarcely think them all slips of the pen. There are many passages of fine prose, and the letters are worth reading for these, as well as for the glimpses of Crane's contemporaries and the comments on his own poems. There is much fuel here for Crane's detractors, but there is assurance for his idolaters too. The main objection to the volume as such is that it may be premature: there are so many omissions, so many names disguised by blanks, that there will have to be a supplementary volume, when time takes the edge off Crane's private indiscretions, if only to satisfy our curiosity. HAYDEN CARRUTH

A Basic Study

CLASSIC ART. By Heinrich Wölfflin. Translated by Peter and Linda Murray. Phaidon Publishers. Distributed by Garden City Books. $6.50.

A NEW and thoroughly readable translation of one of the most influential books on art history ever written. "Classic Art" appeared in 1899, sixteen years before Wölfflin's still more famous "Principles of Art History," which, despite its title, is a systematic contrast of Renaissance and Baroque art and architecture. This earlier work, which char-

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acterizes the painting and sculpture of the High Renaissance in Italy, was the basis of the second. A third, not yet translated, developed the contrast between German and Italian concepts of form in the visual arts, especially in the late medieval and Renaissance periods. No writer on the history of art can match Wölfflin for force of impact on the study both of historical style in art and of national (or at least regional) continuity in artistic traditions. Wölfflin's basic ideas have also influenced the criticism of music and literature. He is more responsible than anyone else for the elimination of derogatory overtones from the term Baroque, which the "correct" late eighteenth-century critics used as a means of castigating the work of prior generations.

A stiff translation of "Classic Art" published in 1903 has long since gone out of print. Once again, through this fine new translation, Wölfflin's fresh observation, his intuitive grasp of form, his vast scholarship, and his flair for intellectual synthesis become available to American and English readers.

S. LANE FAISON, JR.

Books in Brief

THE WEST PORTALS OF SAINT-DENIS AND CHARTRES. By Whitney S. Stoddard. Harvard. $20. A very detailed study of portal sculpture in the Ile de France in the fifty years following the erection of the façade portals of Saint-Denis in 1140, under Abbot Suger. This volume, which is profusely illustrated and beautifully designed, argues convincingly for the traditionally held view, recently attacked by French scholars, that the Royal (West) Portal of Chartres Cathedral followed rather than preceded Saint-Denis. Abbot Suger therefore receives credit for launching a type of portal composition which eventually became standard for Gothic architecture and must rank with the major inventions of architectural sculpture. The study of ornament, much of it of superb quality, is more thorough than in other books in this field.

PRIMARY ELECTIONS IN THE SOUTH. A Study in Uniparty Politics. By Cortez A. M. Ewing. Oklahoma. $2.75. This is a useful supplement to Key's "Southern Politics" and Heard's "A Two-Party South?" Though primary elections are the only real political conflict in the South, even in the primaries participation is lower in Southern states than in other sections. The figures "refute better than rhetoric the Southern apologists who maintain that the South is as democratic as other sections." Rejecting Heard's relative optimism, Ewing believes the South is likely to "become more isolated from the national political scene," to exert less influence in Presidential elections, and "to remain important only in . . . Congress by holding the balance between the two great parties."

Verse Chronicle

BALTIMORE, whether you know it or not, is becoming quite a center for poetry. There seem to be, in that city, several groups which enjoy the stimulating company of their peers; one of these centers around Editions Imagi, which has just published, as the initial volume in a limited series of first collections, "First Poems," by Marvin Solomon ($1.75). Only two hundred copies of this handsomely made book have been printed. In an introductory note it is stated that the poems in this volume do not represent Mr. Solomon's complete production over the past five years; there has been highly critical editing by Mr. Solomon's fellow-poet, the editor, Thomas Cole. Perhaps too highly critical, for Mr. Solomon appears here as a good deal of a one-string harper, the ironic note. I feel sure he has more to say than that "it is hard to find princesses to be rescued nowadays" in these or in other words, that he has more sprightliness in him, and is capable of a fine light touch with the rococo; I hope that next time he will submit less humbly to editorial strictness.

Another finely made book, the "Collected Poems" of Yvor Winters, has been published by Alan Swallow ($3). Mr. Winters is surely one of the most romantic fellows imaginable, with his devotion to the classic, his belief in the virtue of his one-man crusade. It is a good crusade, though not a fashionable one—against verbalizing, against prolixity, against spilling and heaving yourself all over the place, against a lot of talking whether or not you know what you are saying.

> Few minds will come to this.
> The poet's only bliss
> Is in cold certitude—
> Laurel, archaic, rude.

Few minds indeed; the statement is not quite true, either. There has been pleasure known, both to writer and reader, from the poet's eye in a fine frenzy rolling; cold certitude would rule out too many. But Mr. Winters's practice lives devoutly and finely up to his profession; the precision excludes neither emotion nor suggestion.

Still another nice-looking book, with good paper and seemly typography, is "Trembling Prairie," by James K. Feibleman (the Hammer Press, no price stated). This is Mr. Feibleman's fourth collection of verse, but he gives the impression of being more at home in philosophy than poetry in so far as vocation or even avocation is concerned. His poems have an amateur quality about them, with both the awkwardness and the disarming appeal; they seem a little venturesome, a little shy, the diffident expressions of a gentle spirit; this is no hard-boiled old pro telling you. No single item is sharply memorable, but a good deal of atmosphere is conveyed, the mood and weather of the gulf, bay, bayou, tide flat, levees around Mr. Feibleman's home country; and the eye does not entirely miss people either.

For readers whose interests extend beyond the contemporary American, the following might be noted, though lack of space prevents comment: "Early English Christian Poetry," translated into alliterative verse, with a critical commentary, by Charles W. Kennedy (Oxford University Press, $4); "The Song of Roland," translated by Frederick Bliss Luquiens, with an introduction by Nathan A. Smyth (Macmillan, $2.75); "Canadian Poems," 1850-1952, edited by Louis Dudek and Irving Layton, who include their own works (Contact Press, price not stated); and Baudelaire's "Les Fleurs du Mal," translated by Roy Campbell (Pantheon Books, $3.50). These last are especially useful to set off against the Millay-Dillon versions.

In conclusion, and valedictory, I refer readers of this chronicle to my letter in the correspondence section.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

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Films

MANNY FARBER

IN "The Little World of Don Camillo" a serious subject—the conflict between Christian principles and Communist dogmas—is treated with a tolerance and whimsy that made my skin crawl. Yet this extended serio-comic brawl between a godless mayor and a militant priest has some qualities that set it off from the French movie franchise—a crisis in the life of a small town which happens to be running over with simple, excellent people and cute situations. It is a surprisingly white film, with hardly a shadow in it; and it features distant views from steeple, sky, and ceiling that make an earthy affair confined to the monumental irritations of two characters into an exceedingly elastic film—a village chronicle that has the open spaciousness of a county. There is also a drugged, novelistic pace that must have been difficult to achieve in a format of sketches each of which has a separate plot, twist, and point.

Most French comedies are filled out with the personal traits of townsfolk, but this one impresses you with the degree of its rounded characterization. The priest is an ordinary fellow who far outshines the crooning, ball-playing priest in "Going My Way." Along with his piety and good humor he has an addiction to carrying a tommy-gun, and on occasion he is capable of lying, poaching, attempted bribery, fist-fighting, and scoring the best mark in the carnival games testing physical prowess. Fernandel gives the priest another talent—a clever ability to make oily self-satisfied faces that put across a point with exquisite timing. "Don Camillo" has already taken Europe by storm, but unless you are amused by apple-polishing in place of sharp realism and enjoy the idea of a statue of Christ saying, "You're telling me!" you can postpone seeing this one.

On their visit to the Falls the "Niagara" movie crew must have got into difficulties not usually associated with the manufacture of action-thrillers. Between stereotyped chases up dizzy heights and shots of Marilyn Monroe tossing in bed, the movie breaks up into a choppy assemblage of fragments that just barely tell the bickering, homicidal story of a trampish blonde and her deranged husband. Director Hathaway, the Richard Halliburton of the Fox directing stable, is not one to lose his thrills in complications of the terrain, but he seems to have been overpowered by this locale—to such a degree that he settled for telescopic shots of a body being fished out of the water, a chase on the sightseeing stairs that is almost obliterated by spray, and scenes that have nothing more momentous than a technicolored rainbow. Usually you see Joe Cotten, wedded as always to a hang-dog expression, at about six in the morning, when no one was around to trouble the camera crew, worrying, plotting against his wife, or trying to stash a damned corpse in the roaring vicinity of the falls. It is my impression that Miss Monroe has now arrived at a style of breathy mumbling, sloppy posture, and physical self-consciousness that is boring as well as silly.

"Taxi" is a slender, highly unlikely comedy that you might catch on an off night. The film cruises for fourteen hours through New York's boroughs while a taxicab driver (Dan Dailey) makes deprecating remarks, argues, and tries to disillusion a genteel, pretty colleen who has one day in which to find her long-missing husband. The story is too sweet for my taste, but it is one of those infrequent occasions on which Danny Fuchs, one of Hollywood's more gifted penmen, gets a chance to display his ear for Brooklyn speech. Dailey anchors the vanity-sized sentimental comedy in some sufficient kind of reality with an unbuoyant walk, a blatant voice, and an uncomprehending, almost goofy expression. But despite the contributions of the two Danny's, you see less New York life in "Taxi" than the subject offers. For instance, the cab moves easily through parkways, tunnels, and streets, as if Manhattan weren't the bent-fender city, and Dailey's supporting cast of traffic cops and fellow-cabbies generally turn out to be decent, lovable hams like Wallace Beery.

Though it is on the jerry-built side, "Curtains Up" is the kind of movie the ads call a "murderously funny" example of high British comedy. Those highly stylized comedians Robert Morley and Margaret Rutherford weave a web of frustration and cheerful irresponsibility around a morning's theatrical rehearsal, but the action generally drags so badly that it elicits no more than three audible laughs. Director Jack Smart has managed to get some fun into the film with fresh stuff about flubbing of lines, ham acting, and stale writing in a provincial repertory theater. It starts out leisurely and

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wastefully: the ingenue taking a nap backstage, a harried producer trying to find the plot in a new script, someone else unsuccessfully rallying the group on stage. Then, as the rehearsal turns into a nightmare, the people work up the energy of hungry tigers. You don't see such amiable, unglamorous faces on the screen every day; and quite outside the hackneyed sub-plots (a faded character actress ruminating over a brief early London success; a stage-struck ingenue having to be fired) there is a certain know-how in the central matter of showing the ambivalent pleasure (confusion, mock anger, hysterical displays of ego) that can be worked into a trivial situation by little people with time on their hands.

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Music

B. H. HAGGIN

OF THE three miniatures that Balanchine produced for the extended season of the New York City Ballet I would say that in "Valse-Fantaisie" (music by Glinka) he contrived merely to have LeClercq, Hayden, and Adams dance charmingly with Magallanes for ten minutes; but in "Harlequinade" (music by Drigo) he amused himself with a re-creation of an atmosphere and style of St. Petersburg forty years ago, making use of Tallchief's present capacities to have her mimic the delicacy and coquetry of a ballerina of that period delightfully and making as effective use of Eglevsky; and in "Concertino" (music by Françaix) he amused himself (aided by Karinska's costumes) with further developments of the situation of the first scene of "Bourrée Fantasque," producing some very witty and funny dance invention for LeClercq and Adams in their opening scene with Eglevsky and the final scene in which the two ladies compared notes. The intervening two scenes, however, seemed to me routine products of Balanchine's craftsmanship.

Robbins's "Interplay" was danced less well than by Ballet Theater; but even if it had been danced better I would continue to dislike its fidelity to the smart-alec quality that I dislike in Morton Gould's music. Ruthanna Boris's "Kaleidoscope" and "Will o' the Wisp" can go without comment.

William Dollar's "The Five Gifts" was for me the most satisfying of his ballets—one that gave me a sense of matured powers successfully carrying through a large-scale dramatic idea. One of these was the power of imaginative invention that was strikingly evident in the opening scene of the youth being trapped and pinned down by the adverse circumstances of human existence, and the closing scene of his being hobbled by old age. When this one was unequal to the requirement of the situation—the requirement, for example, of characterizing the five gifts by their movements—the power of mere dance invention operated engagingly (with Esteban Frances's superb costumes supplying the differentiating characterization). And only in one or two dead spots (for which Dohnanyi's music may have been responsible) did Dollar fall back on the power of just keeping things going. The piece was danced very well too by Bolender, Hayden, Wilde, Jillana, Mounsey, George, Larsson, D'Amboise, and the corps.

The excellent performance of Mozart's lovely Symphony K.201 by Möldike with the Danish State Radio Chamber Orchestra is less powerfully phrased than the Casals performance, and has more lightness and fluency. On the reverse side of the Haydn Society record is the little Symphony K.183 in G minor, in which some hear a foreshadowing of the great G minor K.550 that I have never been able to hear. Nor can I now accept Geiringer's contention, in his accompanying notes, that K.183 is a direct expression of Mozart's despair at this time over his Salzburg captivity —any more than I can accept the similar contention about the great G minor. The evidence against such immediate correlations of artistic creation with day-to-day experience and emotion is provided by the strikingly dissimilar Symphonies K.543 and 551 that Mozart wrote in the same wretched two months with the great G minor, and the K. 201 that he wrote in the same period as K.183.

Berlioz's rarely heard Funeral March for the last scene of "Hamlet," impressive in its individual style, is performed well on a Urania record by George Sebastian with the Paris Conservatory Concerts Orchestra. So are the exquisite two pieces from "The Damnation of Faust"; but the Rakoczy March lacks the nervous intensity it calls for; and the violins are not heard clearly. The Symphonic Interlude from Franck's "Redemption" is hardly the right piece for the reverse side.

Chabrier's Suite Pastorale, his orchestration of four of the fascinatingly original Dix Pièces Pittoresques for piano, is given brutal treatment by Braithwaite with the Covent Garden Orchestra on an MGM record; but the performances of Bizet's orchestration of five engaging pieces from "Jeux d'enfants" for two pianos and the charming Farandole from "L'Arlésienne" and Gypsy Dance from "The Fair Maid of Perth" are good.

The Theme and Variations from

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Tchaikovsky's Suite No. 3, which Balanchine used for the ballet of that title, has pages that are characteristic products of Tchaikovsky's extraordinary powers of invention, craftsmanship, and taste. Except for an occasional slow tempo that doesn't seem right to me Schuricht's performance with the Paris Conservatory Concerts Orchestra on a London record is good; and the violins, though not lustrous, are not veiled. Something better than the Capriccio Italien should have been put on the reverse side.

All of Dvorak's superb Slavonic Dances are performed well on two Urania records by Talich with the Czech Philharmonic. Treble must be reduced; but on a couple of sides it must be stepped up again near the center.

Of the Delius pieces that are played well by Slatkin with the Concert Arts Orchestra on a Capitol record I like the Prelude to "Irmelin" but don't care for the Caprice and Elegy for cello and orchestra, the Intermezzo and Serenade from "Hassan," "Summer Night on the River," and "On Hearing the First Cuckoo in Spring."

Prokofiev's Suite No. 2 from the ballet score "Romeo and Juliet"—merely very efficient writing for its purpose—is played well on a Vanguard record by Mravinsky with the Leningrad Philharmonic. Shostakovich's Ballet Suite No. 1 (1950) is on the reverse side.

CONTRIBUTORS

ROBERT LEKACHMAN is a member of the Economics Department of Barnard College.

ALBERT J. GUERARD, associate professor of English at Harvard University, is the author of "André Gide" and other books.

MARK GAYN is the author of "Japan Diary."

HAYDEN CARRUTH, formerly editor of *Poetry,* is on the staff of Intercultural Publications.

S. LANE FAISON, JR., chairman of the Art Department of Williams College, is *The Nation's* art critic.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS.

The Presidential Succession

Dear Sirs: Inasmuch as Dr. Monroe E. Deutsch has mentioned my name in connection with his proposal [One Heartbeat Away, *The Nation,* December 20, 1952] that the people be allowed to vote separately for President and Vice-President, you will perhaps permit me to express my views on this subject.

Let me say, to begin with, that I share his dissatisfaction with the existing arrangements regarding the Presidential succession. I can see no merit in a system which when a vacancy happens in the office of President, places in the Executive chair—possibly for a full four years—a man never thought of for that office by anybody. But I cannot think that Dr. Deutsch's remedy would do more than compound the evil.

Dr. Deutsch argues that if the "package deal" were abandoned and the candidates for Vice-President required to be judged on their own qualifications, the nominating conventions would choose better men for the secondary post. I see no reason to think so. The contest between the parties would still be for the great prize; the Vice-Presidency would still be hawked about in exchange for votes for the Presidency. The remarks which Senator White made prophetically in 1803 would still be true: "Character, talents, virtue, and merits will not be sought after in the candidate. The question will not be asked: Is he capable? Is he honest? But can he by his name, by his connections, by his wealth, by his local situation, by his influence, or his intrigues, best promote the election of a President?"

Dr. Deutsch's proposal for a separate Vice-Presidential election, taken by itself, would in my view leave the caliber of the candidates exactly where it is now. But it would have one very serious disadvantage. It might, as he himself concedes, bring into office a President of one party and a Vice-President of another. Then, if the President died, we would not only have as President a man whom no one intended for the office but have what Senator Beveridge used to call a "political non-sequitur" in the Executive branch. Does anyone really think that the substitution of Senator Sparkman for Senator Nixon as provisional successor to President Eisenhower, would remove the difficulty of the succession problem?

Dr. Deutsch, however, has another plan for improving the character of Vice-Presidents: he would attach to the office duties of such high importance that no one would think of nominating an incompetent person to it; such an office, furthermore, would become an object of ambition to men of Presidential caliber. The scheme is a plausible one, and it has often been urged before—by Theodore Roosevelt, by Senator Beveridge, and, more recently, by Representative (now Senator) Monroney.

I submit, however, that no plan for enlarging the powers of the Vice-Presidency can be sound. The additional powers must be legislative or executive. If they are legislative, the system might work well enough so long as the Vice-President and the Senate were of the same political complexion. But what would happen if a Democratic Vice-President with the powers of, say, a "Czar" Reed were thrust upon a Republican Senate, or vice versa?

The case is much worse if the additional powers are executive. For how is the President to be held responsible for his Administration if high executive duties are vested in an officer not subject to his direction or control? It must be remembered that a Vice-President, armed with substantial powers and irremovable except by impeachment, might use his position to embarrass or defeat, as well as to aid, the Administration. The danger, always present, would be especially acute on those occasions when, under Dr. Deutsch's plan, the Vice-President was not of the President's party.

I remain, therefore, of my original opinion, elaborated six years ago in the *Atlantic Monthly,* that the best solution to the problem of the Presidential succession is to expunge the office of Vice-President from the Constitution and to let an officer designated by Congress—preferably the Secretary of State—act as President until the next Congressional election, at which time the people can elect a new President for a new four-year term.

If the office of Vice-President cannot be abolished, I would favor the scheme advanced by Walter Lippmann, that the Vice-President act as President until the next Congressional election and that then a new President and new Vice-President be chosen. I admit the force of Dr. Deutsch's comment that such a

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plan does not eliminate the evil of the Vice-Presidential succession but merely reduces the time it would afflict us. But the shortening of the maximum term of an accidental President from four years to two seems to me a very sensible advantage.

LUCIUS WILMERDING, JR.
Princeton, N. J.

"Whose Wars?"

Dear Sirs: I would like to congratulate you on the December 27 issue of *The Nation,* in particular on Nelson Algren's American Christmas, 1952, and the very important article, Whose Wars? by Robert Lynd.

I had been looking for some time for a documented analysis of the economic motive behind the growing military strength of the United States, and Robert Lynd has done a real service to the cause of truth in raising this vital question. I attended a large conference on Point 4 in Washington last May in which American business and industry was a participant, and I seemed to feel at that time some apprehensions about the direction in which our policy was moving and the incentive of at least some of these people in backing social and technical assistance; namely, to establish our footholds in the areas of the world where great natural resources still lie untapped.

RUSSELL JOHNSON,
Peace Education Secretary,
American Friends Service Committee
Cambridge, Mass.

In Defense of Freedom

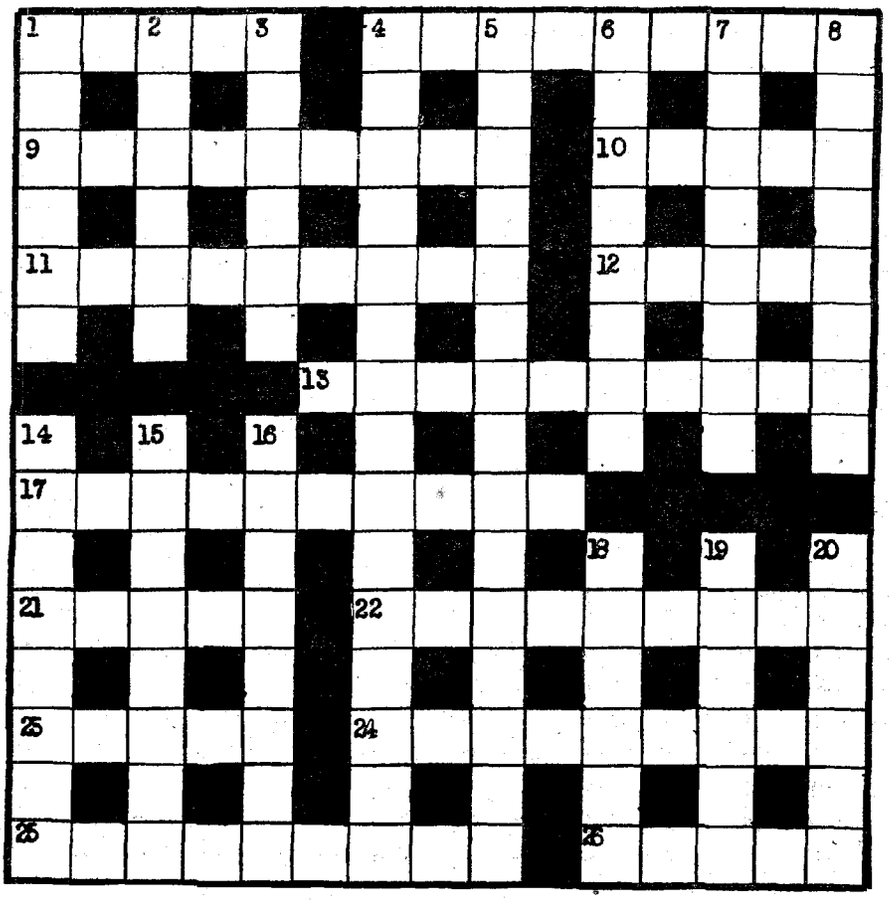
Dear Sirs: The serious consequences of loyalty oaths and official investigations in the name of anti-Communist security measures need not be emphasized to readers of *The Nation.*

This letter is written to propose the formation of a committee of informed and independent persons who would undertake to keep a comprehensive account of legislation and Congressional action touching upon freedom of speech and thought. It would further serve as a coordinating agency for the many individuals and organizations who would like to pool their efforts to bring a better understanding of the implications of such legislation.

The committee I propose would bring before the public in letters to the press and in articles to periodicals more popular than scholarly the implications of statutes and investigations which threaten freedom of research and of ex-

Crossword Puzzle No. 503

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Goat's-head island? (5)
4 If you want to get at a lot, rub the wrong way—you'll find it counts. (9)
9 Certainly not the people's choice. (9)
10 Approaches where to find R and T. (5)
11 Here are the rules. (9)
12 Be allowed to come back with something to chew on, perhaps. (5)
13 Implying fleet women are O.K. by the M.D. (Affected by ether, perhaps!) (5, 5)
17 The clue is one-sided, until a real change is made. (10)
21 His tiger was evidently hot, but sort of cold. (5)
22 Exemplified by De Falla's three-cornered one? (5, 4)
23 Small insect of an irregular variety. (5)
24 There's ego in the air—you'll hear it again and again. (5, 4)
25 Decor for "Snowbound"? (Designed by Anderson.) (9)
26 Finale of 25, arranged for woods only. (5)

DOWN

1 Heavy treads come in clusters. (6)
2 Nothing to drink on return? One can't say it isn't material. (6)
3 The forcible impinging of devilish behavior? (6)
4 If your calling concerns the Salvation Army, you might. (9, 6)
5 Implying one got a good deal for what his first story might be on. (7, 8)
6 The e certainly aren't short salutations as used by Robin. (8)
7 When at the head, it's still the same —drawing. (8)
8 Uneasy without the remainder? (8)
14 Flounce with the hair down? (8)
15 Novel territory for the river. (8)
16 You might find a sort of pest in step! (With the white man, of course!) (8)
18 An obvious kind of leather? (6)
19 A word for the lead of "Life with Father"? (6)
20 Give us time—we must master them to do anything well. (6)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 502

ACROSS:—1 FATIGUE CLOTHES; 9 ABUSIVE; 10 WHISTLE; 11 HEARTS; 12 FRESHETS; 14 SINCERE; 15 COTES; 17 BLIND; 19 ESTEEMS; 21 POPULACE; 23 IMPALE; 25 NONSTOP; 26 ELUSIVE; 27 AS THE CROW FLIES.

DOWN:—1 FLASH BULB; 2 TOUCANS; 3 GLISTENED; 4 EDEN; 5 LOWER BERTH; 6 and 21 TAILSPINS; 7 ENTREAT; 13 and 8 TELESCOPIC LENS; 15 CREAMPUFF; 16 SORCERESS; 18 IMPENDS; 20 SWAHILI; 22 LATCH; 24 VETO.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

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pression, and which penalize retroactively possible erroneous judgment or actions legal at the time they were taken. It would further seek to counteract the official investigations by elucidating in principle and in concrete detail the necessity of freedom for the security of a free society.

New York KATHERINE A. WELLS

Last Verse Chronicle

Dear Sirs: The Verse Chronicle on another page of this issue will be, I regret to say, the last to appear over my signature in *The Nation*. The policy announced in the mid-January issue strikes me as all to the bad. No matter what face is put upon the matter, a "liberal" magazine which effects economies, however grimly necessary, by firing a good literary editor and cutting down on the space allotted to notice of books is altogether too mean-spirited for this old politician.

New York ROLFE HUMPHRIES

Tidelands Campaign

Dear Sirs: In making Tidelands oil a naval reserve President Truman has made it more difficult for Congress to give away (quit claim) federal property worth more than Tea Pot Dome, the TVA, the national forests, and all the gold in Fort Knox.

The value of this submerged land is estimated at one hundred billion dollars, or more than one-third of the public debt. It is worth more than the oil in Iran and Mexico.

The campaign to pressure Congress into giving away this priceless natural resource, which the Supreme Court of the United States in six decisions has clearly and unequivocally declared does not now and never did belong to the people of any single state, is clearly a campaign to get Congress to do something the Supreme Court refused to sanction.

Of course it is within the power of Congress to give away Tea Pot Dome, the TVA, and any other federal property. The governments of Mexico and Iran also have the "power" to give away their oil land. Are our citizens less vigilant and alert than the people of Mexico and Iran? Let us hope that Congress will uphold the decisions and final decrees of the United States Supreme Court in this affair, and that readers of *The Nation* will wire or write their Senators, without delay. J. RUPERT MASON,

President, International Union for Land Value Taxation and Free Trade

London

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